2r Schaden--22 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-
[361] day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred
[61] [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (Nanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different com-
182 munities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
[177] the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the
[563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the
[98] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/27 cont./

304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odʃadʒókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-styles: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [654] [178]

142 182 [147] [482] [164] Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

/57 cont./

476 In all the Guaraní groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the mutirão or puxirão. I [114] repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, [84] as in Dourados among the Ñandéva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guaraní into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three subgroups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends 476 to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages 178 today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by [115] old Pedro Pires, Ñandéva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have [654] prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, [182] the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a puxirão in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a puxirão and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have puxirão; food is very expensive.

476 The puxirão should be interpreted as an expression of the 621 solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the puxirão. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by connubial bonds.

476 The "owner" of the puxirão (among the Mbüá and Ñandeva) [84] buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. capado/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

/73 cont./

of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief -- Nhanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the ini-
tiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases
it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father,
who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the
girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it
is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the
marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who
is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion
in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[573] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of
Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically
incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of
Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his
own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
691 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--125 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the flanderú or paí can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension, which is manifested in the relations between the group and the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the flanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the flanderú as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission. On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view. To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the material interests of the group, always threatened by the white man, and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his cooperation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
554 whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
596 also may be limited to the family group (there always being the possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion, whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious orientation of the community.

2: Schaden--126 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4

/103 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
132 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the flanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the flanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
643 At Panambi, Pai Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
132 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/104 cont./

622 624 182 [596] Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality, distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in [177] [478] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 156 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.

[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least [622] xvvráídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de- [622] parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião(now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 554 [184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães /plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

2: Schaden--129 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
622 or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
554 not have a very well developed economic sense: I know only one
756 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with exceptional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians, mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

[435] [465] [171] [184]

/123 cont./

782 778 621 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious sentiment developed by it: a prayer may "come" more or less "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies performed in the village. The 782 778 [705] [787] porahêi is also identified, at least among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 787 The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that [706] Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly [184] in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for [424] [554] the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva [184] that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

/184 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ỹ (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãhuã ſ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without
blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the
masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in
[533] sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the
index finger to the little one) produces the differences in the
sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing,
the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ſ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ſ djireta
829 (the ending reta, which in general indicates a collective, was
[906] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there
is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, be-
cause they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent
of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ſ would have been used formerly by
the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of
the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e.,
the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation,"
stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I
did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, in-
teresting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /185/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guaranias" and, particularly in the
Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[854] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossi-
ble dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire
to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves
miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain
singing of three centuries ago.

2t Schaden--231 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/181 cont./
recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercialization of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the [554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclolized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the change in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the change "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

The need to face new economic demands causes more or less radical transformations in the family organization. As the communitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

3: Watson E-4.5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *bolichos* in União.) Some *bolichos*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *bolicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roça* and is a small producer of *maíz*.

A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roça* or in the *maíz* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots, guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *maíz*; the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *maíz*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them."

Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

" *Ibid.*

5: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingud* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Botícola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jataby resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingud* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingud* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingud*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingud* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingud*: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingud* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[3] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingud clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingud* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[3] For a good description of the *Guaraní* pellet-bow, see Ambrosetti, 1895, p. 628.

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their enemies.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

1:Dobrizhoffer H-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
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Roÿ, Capitâ Tupânchichu, Capitâ Veraripotschiritù, neglecting their own word, *aba rubicha*; so universal and honourable is the title of captain amongst the savage nations. Should an Abipon meet a Spaniard dressed very handsomely, he would not hesitate to call him captain, though he might be of low rank, and distinguished by no dignity or nobility whatever. Moreover, in Paraguay, Spaniards of the lowest rank, who live in the country, are extremely ambitious of the title of captain, and if you do not call them so every now and then, will look angry, and refuse to do you any kind of service, even to give you a drop of water if you are ever so thirsty. The Christian Guaranies have the same foolish mania for titles. After having laboured hard for two or three years in the royal camps, they think themselves amply repaid for their toils and wounds, if, at the end of the expedition, they return to their colony honoured by the royal governour with the title and staff of a captain. At all times even when employed, barefoot, in building or agriculture, they ostentatiously hold the captain's staff in their hands. When they are carried to the grave, this wooden ensign is suspended from the bier. When a man is at the point of death, and just going to receive extreme unction, he puts on his military boots and

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1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
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spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or